9:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture pattern and were thus voluntarily adopted. The Nandi, not being bee-experts, none the less desire honey; not being hunters, they desire furs; the Dorobo being both bee-keepers and hunters can supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped in the transmission of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralist and retain the outlook of the hunter.

2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the bands is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the *kowt* council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the *kowt* organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain bandocracy by bringing together elements from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the *kowt* council is more political and less domestic, regulating the district as a whole irrespective of clan.

If behaviour and kinship are the basis of social life, the clan is the basis of band-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Dorobo the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect rather than on the totem-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity creates the *kowt* foundation, and is the main factor that keeps the bands together under conditions which would under primitive any institution less strong.

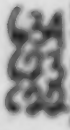
The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper[1], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. People tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men corresponding to the fighting men of the Nandi; though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[1] Huntingford (G. W. B.), op. cit. (n. 1).

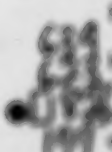
5:Hastingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

To-day, only three of these districts are inhabited, Kelpai, Kipkoreon and Sowtiyo (with which Moiben has been amalgamated). The inhabitants of the empty *kwanek* have joined the three inhabited districts, gone right away, or died.

These *kwanek* correspond with the Nandi *koitinosk* (sing. *koit*) as the administrative units, the difference being that the Dorobo districts are larger than those of the Nandi, and that they consist mostly of forest, or forest with a strip of open land in front of it, whereas the Nandi districts are mostly parkland with patches of forest in places. Each Dorobo *kwat* had its council, *kiruokat*, with a leader or spokesman, *kiruokindet* or *ajaiyat*, "the old man". The *kiruokindet* was not a chief at all, as we understand the word. He held his position, not by descent, nor by election, but, as the Dorobo expressed it, by *mitigtin kitis*, "by the power of his tongue only", or more precisely, by virtue of his age, character, personality, and ability. Nor did the *kiruokindet* act for the whole horde. Each council was independent so far as its decisions went; but the interesting fact of clanship, the sense of "being Dorobo" fostered by isolation and suspicion of the outside world, and the absolute need for Dorobo to stick together, united them more than one might expect, and certainly more than the nebulous authority of a bush-chief could have done.



In 1939 no *kwat* council met, so far as I know, and there was nobody then holding the office of *kiruokindet* in any of the three districts. I learned, however, that the last *kiruokindet* of Kipkoreon was one Cheserem arap Cipandos, a Kimoyeiki, who died some years before my visit, and might perhaps have been 55 years old when he was in office; that the last *kiruokindet* of Sowtiyo had been Kipkutum arap Ngumenguan, who was still alive in 1939, aged about 80, and was said to have been *kiruokindet* at the time of the last Nandi War in 1905, which would make him about 45 when he took office, which he resigned before 1925; and that the last *kiruokindet* of Kelpai was Tomeno arap Gorbba, a Kipkoimet who died "many years ago", and must have been very old at the time of the Nandi War. The phrase "in office" must not be taken too literally: there was nothing official about a Dorobo *kiruokindet*, and he was really no more than a prime local power who from his character and personality was looked upon as a fit person to listen to.



These facts would seem to indicate that not only had no council been held since before 1937, but that the system itself was already beginning to fall into disuse independently of the move of 1937, its place being taken more and more by the clan council. I think there is no doubt that the *kwat* council was a feature acquired from the Nandi, and that while the Nandi lived close to the Dorobo it functioned smoothly. But the Nandi were cleared away from the forest in 1906, and for a time there was a break in their commercial contact with the Dorobo. After a time, they began to come back, in smaller numbers than before, and [illegible] of the days when the Dorobo had her some of their familiarity with them, and their characteristic shyness had taken its place. I noticed that when Dorobo

9:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they seemed to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Nandi from it; and if a Nandi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Nandi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Nandi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acquired feature like the *koret* can fall into disuse; and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1927 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the *koret* council could lapse, and with it the office of *kiruokindet*, though the *koret* names remained, as they had become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the *koret* council is closely associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work in the past.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Nandi they had no special trees which mark the *koret*. The functions of the *koret* council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: *Kiruon ankit ai kotit ro meiyan ak ee yan, ai kotun yik tukul. Ingemis ak ake tukul, kuon ai kon enet ake,* "We take counsel that we may find what is good and know what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council; it considered what steps to take when food was scarce; and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the *kiruokindet*, who after hearing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for such it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The mainspring of Dorobo political organization is public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing, they know also that if they do it, their friends will do something unpleasant to them, and, what is really most important of all, they know that ancestor ghosts, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works, one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these matters are doubtful even fertile, but they are effective [illegible] and carry on the existence in fear of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Nandi, the council held less interest as an almost daily business, but to feel almost sure as to the equivalent of a civil, though without the conveniality of a civil. But this is not possible for people who

Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognized beings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunderbirds an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might also assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the ideas of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm / Set that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of a people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest dwarfs rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought rain. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not much, and although the lowest known rainfall, 30 inches in 1933 at the plain recedes from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest) would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches never does any more than cause temporary inconvenience when there are camps to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tinderet Hill is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged a dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to eat or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relations is not so much the between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals that's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of meat, or his inability to kill or catch what is there to slaughter.

Social aims. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value. Since between man and them there is created a relationship which man must remain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on a given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But sometimes as much a life might seem, there is no evidence that in this or there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. Their men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if [illegible] got back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and few well informed persons will talk about it, but it is also true that when the food supply throughout the emergency is found adequate,

Schoolcraft Box 3 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

an elaborate ritual will not be built up to increase or protect it. What is expected, and what one does indeed find, is that the hunters will take what steps they can to keep on the right side of those beings which can hinder them or destroy their technical skill.

Wild animals which supply both food and the raw material for technical and domestic processes have social value, and by 1930 cattle and goats were beginning to acquire it, though they were so recently introduced as Dorobo possessions that very little in the way of ritual practices concerning them had developed. Wild animals of almost every kind are of some use to the Dorobo, and while it cannot be asserted that there is actual ritual expression towards many of them, there is nevertheless a not very clearly defined or indeed definable feeling of awareness, almost of kinship with them. This was revealed by listening to conversations between Dorobo as they went through the forest, and demonstrated the intensity of their interest in the animal life of the place, as well as their immediate appreciation of almost invisible signs which the Kamili (and of course myself) passed without even noticing. Although the animals of the forest are wild, and the property of no man, in the sense that cattle are property, the Dorobo feel a proprietary interest in them, especially when they are in a man's own section of the forest. It is clear that they have a feeling for the animals which may be described as "fondness", the nearest (though not very adequate) English rendering of the untranslatable word *cumsiet*, and that they regard them as intelligent beings, not on the human level, but more the less worthy of respect and friendliness. They are spoken of without loathing, disgust or contempt; and whereas the reaction of the average Kamili to the sight of a hare or rat spoor is merely a gleam of greed and lust for meat, the reaction of the Dorobo is much more than that. He no doubt thinks it would be nice to eat, but at the same time he wants to know all about it, where it came from, where it was going, and so forth, and even if he has no intention of hunting it, he will examine the ground to find out all he can, for although only an animal it is one of the living things which share the forest with him. One Dorobo did in fact try to describe his attitude to wild life in the following words:

Tun kebisi ogbo kebisi Cumsiet Chisik ol Dorobo
They know the best animals are all. They like the Dorobo that they may see

Cumsik. Ko gamsie Cumsik, ame kimenyo kebisi kaskuge ametabin,
the animals. Not but the animals, for we should be all together the forest.

Ogomsiet ogi Cumsik ma ne ogbo gik, ako ma ko, ame ametu
Intelligence of the animals not like that which is of men, but not like the intelligence

ok kebisi Cumsik. Kebisi kebisi ritwet ogi somok. Ki'ame ebisi, mebi'ame
of wild Cumsik. Kebisi kebisi ritwet ogi somok. Ki'ame ebisi, mebi'ame

kebisi. Ako kebisi kebisi. Ki' ko somok, ok kebisi ne ko somok
which. Not we like all. Where is there, not they which are of there.

(The Dorobo knows the names of all the animals, and they like also to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of the animals is not like that of people, but it is not very

Schuttinglaan E-1 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dembo FLA

different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is alike*; we eat some, others we do not; but we like them all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

Wild animals for the Dorobo have personality, not the kind that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real kind of personality that human beings like the Dorobo can respond to.

Bees, though not themselves reared, are analogous to cattle among the Nandi, and their product has great social value and hence strong ritual value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than hunting and can thus be continued by older men who are still reasonably active but not active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

Edible plants have social value, but since under existing conditions there is no scarcity of them, there is no ritual relationship between them and men.

The clan has a social value not found among the Nandi, for the Dorobo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Nandi are, and although the expression ki Okiek, "we are Dorobo", means a good deal, it has not the same significance that the similar expression ki Nandi, "we are Nandi", given when said by a Nandi. The real unit of the Dorobo is the clan, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain; and the effect of all that the clan means to the Dorobo is that it has an immense group-value, being the element that ensures basic solidarity.

Personification and evil-being. Pale and inscrutable mountains the Dorobo are perhaps more striking to a forest than the sea, and it is reasonable that they should be personified in one figure: "Oki was a man". This is probably an original Dorobo belief, for to the Nandi Oki has the form of a bird. This personification represents and fulfils the Dorobo need of personal contact with a dangerous element, and explains the actions of the Dorobo whom the Cicers Nelson saw defying the "rain-god" †. The notion of Oki is much less concrete and definite, and in spite of occasional prayers to him, the conception of his functions is even less clear. Yet while Oki may be regarded as the power which controls the weather, Oki seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and 'nature'. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the bush is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the avoidance of public debts is necessary to prevent disaster to the bush. Public debts thus in one sense come under the head of religion, for their commission entails the breaking of the ritual relationship between man and

* That is, although some animals (the human kind or hunting) are more intelligent than others and although the human kind are aware of the others but not all, co-existence they are all alike, human and non-human, in that they all live and die in the forest.

† Man 1909: 66.

Schlesinghaus B-3 (1934-1935) 1954 FLA Dowden FLA

the other world, and atonement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion which is based on the fear of loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Aza*.

But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dowden (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the ancestors, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Then protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the talisman against the evil eye, ornaments against consumption, and perhaps the double spiral earrings ceremonially worn, although the significance of the last among the Dowden is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they act between man and the powers as protectives.

Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which dwells in the Kiet or 'universe' is crystallized in the word *Aza*[ka], borrowed from the Nandi with perhaps some of the Nandi notions of its nature. He is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother *Ge ameet*, for the aromatic myrtle *Ameet* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Aza* plays in Dowden religious life, but he owes the less profound the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for extension of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection.

The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for the notion of the spirits were once men themselves and are therefore much nearer to men than *Aza* and still tried to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dowden, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dowden that the ancestors, the evil spirits, are the same as the evil or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more natural than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. [illegible] they return to visit and take care of the living, to whom they [illegible] and the part taken by the evil in Dowden life may be fact be summarized thus: (a) they can provide an antidote food; (b) they can cause illness if angered; (c) they can thwart a man and so spoil his luck and overwhelm his skill; (d) they are at the back of the legal sanctions as intermediaries between men and the ultimate spiritual power that controls the universe.

A general statement made by one elder was that evil spirits exist (there), and good spirits exist (), which in the light of the total of what we know of Dorobo beliefs is more or less a reasonable summary, even though the good spirits are also being (there). But the fact is that the good spirits are believed to be able to do both good and evil, and that the considerations of public debate centre on them, as that, in the words of a Dorobo elder, "both things are not done, because they are bad, for the spirits do not like them".

It will be noticed that there is a good deal of similarity between Dorobo and Nandi religion*, and there can be little doubt that much, though not all of it, has been borrowed from the Nandi along with other culture elements. It is, I think, necessary to mention this, in case anyone should be tempted to find 'parallels' which in reality do not exist. Dorobo religious beliefs are mainly not a parallel growth, but directly borrowed, and the resemblance to those of the Nandi will therefore be very strong both in general and in detail.

* As described e.g. in my booklet "The Nandi". (Peoples of Kenya Series) Nairobi 1953.

Rev. [1-45.] S.A.R. [1900.

They are said to be very prolific, having litters of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their natural increase very shortly [illegible] mortality is probably due to the cold damp climate of the Blue Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 1,000 to 4,000 feet.

Their game consisting consists of nothing of a dog's race, and the surrounding parties thus spoken was nothing with the Black.

They live principally on Edibles and other vermin, which they shoot in the forests [illegible] they eat and have big game on the plains, known as the Bongolo Plains; they rank [illegible] this game is very fat, does have to be [illegible] hunting. They are [illegible] among the big game, no [illegible] even the smallest, they [illegible] They have kept in order to their hunting and employ them to get young dogs for the purpose. They will eat them they first gave the fly certain medicines, and the natives [illegible] them with gums.

They are very clever elephant hunters and likewise are their other they [illegible] some on elephant they must [illegible] and tusked and skilled themselves very carefully [illegible] aspects of most of the human ones, and that they live does also to approach a charging elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a Boomerang. The Box is produced in the ordinary way for the Circles of one inch upon round cardboard by a depression to another piece of wood, which is held firm between the feet feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the property of Box.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Roman numerals.

The grades "[illegible]" and the suffixes "[illegible]" and "[illegible]" are, I think, brought in from the Dutch language, but many of the rest of the words in the table differ from those of the tribe are only spoken. Dutch and other educating this vocabulary to some extent they appeared to have forgotten the English. Dutch must has given the Dutch words, and had to commit nothing themselves and very many have not the proper ones. The language is also evidently changing from each [illegible] to [illegible] gradually becoming quite extinct in the next Century.

G. W. Schlichter

[illegible]

[P 114, B]

The social structure of the Creoles is based on [illegible] class aristocracy, the class being patrilineal, partially patrilocal, and exogamous. The class names, as well as the age-set names, and many of the [illegible] relationship terms, are of French origin, but [illegible] have the constituent units, and it is seen that the [illegible] social structure is unlike that of the French. The whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact, Australian. There is no doubt that living in [illegible] in close contact with a forest produces a condition [illegible] this effect on people, which differentiates them [illegible] from those who live in open country; and the [illegible] influence of the forest is felt particularly by the children. Peculiar features of forest life, which [illegible]

1. The homestead is set in a small clearing [illegible] just large enough to hold two or three huts.
2. The continual presence of large trees, [illegible] especially when the children are young.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The age-grades, through which a person passes [illegible] in turn are:

♂	♀
[illegible]: uncircumcised boys.	[illegible]: girls.
[illegible]: circumcised men.	[illegible]: marriageable women.
[illegible]: elders.	[illegible]: old women.

Now an [illegible] (♂ circumcised), when they become eligible for the 10-year period of their age-set and their [illegible] when the change over occurs? The sub-divisions, [illegible], of the [illegible] age-sets could not but the same sub-divisions were called:

[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible]: [illegible] or [illegible].
[illegible]: [illegible] or [illegible].

A man belongs normally to the age-set but one before that of his father, i.e.:

Age-set:	Eldest son usually belongs to:	Youngest son may belong to:
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

It may happen, as in French, that a man will be [illegible] (1)
[illegible] with an age-set but one before that of his father (as in the two schools above), because he was born so long after his father's marriage that he would be too young to be circumcised with the age he would normally belong to.

With these [illegible] features, the [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] age-sets in the French [illegible] [illegible] (1)
[illegible] [illegible] (2)
[illegible] [illegible] (3)

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [